1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

714
634
184

Masai warriors of various 'ages' and 'districts,' each with the shield of his 'age' and 'district.'

291
301

Scene on the Uganda Railway. Masai and other passengers.

[Facing p. xxviii]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XI

Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blunted arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.

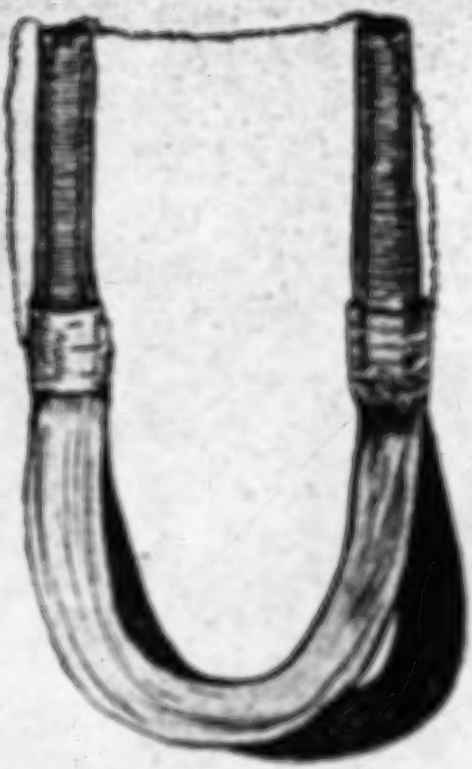
Buck duel between two Twilight.

[Facing p. 257]

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate XVI

321
301



Arm clamp of bone worn by warriors [1].

●914

Wood shield (without decoration) [1/5]. 1. Front view; 2. Back view.

[Facing P. 301]

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 MasaiFL12

'l-emeet loo-'l-kidgni oo 'o-ljoloo oo-'l-muroon loo-'l-Maasai.	Concerning the shields and spears of the Masai warriors.
Inchoo, 'l-kidgni oo-'l-muroon angiki o-aiyai tho; tooloro.	The warriors' shields are not all of one design; they differ.
Kedi ol-payan lamunia o-aiyai looye, nedigor ali 'l-eshoo i-aiyai, nedili 'l-muroon loo-'l-eshoo lamunia o-aiyai looye.	Each age and each sub-district has its own design.
Aare tjo pe too etumo 'l-muroo oo 'l-nedigeli, nelyibtuni 'ejare ol-payan tjo, kedoo le'l-eshoo tjo.	In consequence, if he warriors meet an enemy, it is known to what age such a one belongs and also to what sub-district.
Ilili 'aiyai oolgwaa loo-'l-kidgni, o-aiyai enyokiye, o o-aiyai enik, o o-aiyai le'l-kidgo, o o-aiyai loo-'l-kigolooni.	There are four markings for the shields, the red one, the black one, the ornamental one, and the one for bravery*.
Oo 'o-ljoloo oo-'l-muroon angiki ali o-aiyai tho; tooloro.	Likewise with the spears, they are not all marked alike.
Oo too ashili oo-ljoro, nelyibtuni le-'l-ligwooi ol-payan tjo ol-epany, o ol-eshoo tjo.	If a spear is found, it is to be ascertained by looking at the lower part to what age and also to what sub-district the owner belongs.

'l-emeet loo-'le-laa oo-'l-muruak loo-'l-Maasai.	Concerning the arrows of the Masai elders.
Kaa 'l-muruak i-aiyai looye le'le-laa, aiyee enia 'l-muroon loo-'le-ljoloo.	The old men have special marks for their arrows as the warriors have for their spears.
Too ashili oo-laa, nelyibtuni ang'i le'l-epany o ol-eshoo looye.	If an arrow is found, a generation and the sub-division to which its owner belongs can be recognized.

* The Masai make use of four colours in ornamenting their shields—white, red, black, and grey. White is obtained by rubbing cows with white clay; red clay mixed with the juice of the Solanum sanguinolentum, Kleinii, produces the red paint; black is procured from the ashes of diverse sorts, Yabi., or from charred goatskins and gourds; and grey, which is not rarely used, is obtained from shadows.

[306]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor ol 'a-gura 'l-dgumajyik naledg, sinse ol 'l-tolgunak kituak, kake nasa naledg.

Nemeisua il-Masasa kulyatikitia ops, sinse sasa 'a-gisisa, kake sinsalia tasia 'a-dalki pikia ne-'l-mook, sasa 'l-pusk, o el-nialelli, ne 'l-marika, ne 'a-gulye-dalki e-'a-gop, sasa nasia 'a-gisisa kumok sasa ops.

Pikí ne-dikí nemeisua, e-nairo aka. Nemeisua il-aitiyol, ne 'singis', ne 'a-giri ne-'l-sholgik.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [198]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-sholgik.

Kenya 'l-Masasa 'l-sholgik ops sinse sasa 'a-gisisa pikia; kake sinse kulikua tinse tasia 'l-sholgik sasa 'l-Turtiia, sasa sinsalia 'a-gisisa.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [198]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

Ten ther il-eyuk il-ditoto, ten 'l-ala aka sitoni, sapwai sasir nainyoki 'a-gisisa.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 239 [214] [215] [197]

Nas, ten ther 'l-sailwasi, tas el-chitai sitoni, ɣ' sinsoye 'l-nauna il-lolgil, sailasi ol 'ntuesak, ɣ' sisi 'a-gisilgila nainkigyuki 'tauloa. Nailas ol 'l-olomak la-gisilgila nanpika 'sutto le-'a-sulua.

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own 60,000 head of cattle and 250,000 goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago. [213] [194]

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use e-singir (pl. i-singir) for a fish. The southern invariably use e-singisi (pl. i-singisi).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

824 302 7. Ol-matasya enyor il-tukgunak entopoisi nare entgil; naiborkgua ai 'l-nareua tee-'ngolik ogwe o-ningilio; naikye ai 'l-ala te-'lle-shani.

7. People like to lie on the leaves of *Clematis longicauda*, Steetz., as they are sweet-scented. The warriors also carry some in their hands when they go to the dances; and the branches of this plant are used as head-brushes.

8. 'E-dung-ee-'l-nailer-kanak nanyiki 'l-pupit.

8. The roots of *Dregea rubicunda*, K. Sch., which are worn in the hair.

824 Ol-chani tabatyaki 'l-kilgei:

The tree used for binding shields:

Ol-giriginé. Ilitoosi 'l-loosa lenyeua ilitua 'l-dirata loo-'l-kilgei.

Acacia pennata, Willd., the spines of which is used to sew the edge of the shields with.

824 Ilitua ai 'l-nareua il-ilpata nainaye 'n-giri.

The warriors also make their head-dresses of this tree.

824 Il-kiti entoonyaki 'l-kumma, na 'ntirre, na 'n-gilk na-'rumata:

The trees from which the shields and the spear handles are made:

1. Ol-ntirian arnki ol-tamiyoi.
2. Ol-tirkish.
3. Ol-gilei.
4. Ol-tarkia.
5. Nata-nira.

1. *Olea chrysophylla*, Lam.
2. *Rhamnus* sp.
3. *Teclea undulata*, Bull.
4. *Cordia Ruskii*, Roem. and Schult.
5. *Ochna Merkeri*, Gilg.

Kolikoo-kish entoonyaki 'n-dikirria:

Other trees which are made use of:

1. O-ntirti o Ol-ramarkoroi. Ninje entoonyaki 'n-gumbira.

1. *Grewia bicolor*, Juss., and *Pavonia urens* Cav., L. From these trees sticks are cut.

824 [illegible] 2. Ol-tiasi arnki ol-orokiti', olenye ogwe le-'ntasi enyore ee-jore.

2. The warriors use branches for the framework of their ostrich feather head-dresses, which they wear when they go to the wars.

824 Nairua ai 'l-nainak il-kitokigi engish il-kwaloore.

The old men also use branches for their tobacco pouches.

* Probably *Acacia mellifera*, Benth.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

GH 505 192 GH [204] [194] [196] GH 628 194 628 land than others. The most aristocratic of these class are the Ngajé-Masai, Matéitan, Lpasé, and Loitayo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngajé-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 203). The higher development of the Ngajé-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigirari, Njiri, Matoroboto, Kayoli, Dogilani, Lykipia, Gnare Ngishu, &c. The various members of the race are generally designated by their native districts. Various clans may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matoroboto," or El-Masai Kayoli. Each district also is further distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion. Were among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilised lands.

Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Pare on the west, and Teita and Ukambani on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaruni. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—so far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe reprise, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

1 [illegible]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F L12 Maori F L12

ing to his father to learn something about his origin, and this I believe is—among other stories—what he was told. The primal ancestor of the Maori was one Kidimori, who lived at Dwayo Eglod (Mount Kevin), was hairy, and had a tail. Filled with the spirit of exploration, he left his home and wandered north. The people of the country, seeing him shaking something in a calabash, were so struck with admiration at the wonderful performance that they brought him women as a present. By these he had children, who, strangely enough, were not hairy, and had no tails, and these were the progenitors of the Maori. As Moran had not heard anything of the theories which were convulsing scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which the savants of civilized society would have given their hearts to verify.

Meanwhile Moran practised with the spear, and killed innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with beating heart to the stories of daring exploits and sanguinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled milk, maize, or millet, and meat. But vegetable paste was the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though he ate it.

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop a truculent and ferocious expression, instead of making himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or examining his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to think of Moran trying to look dangerous, proving his love, and generally cultivating the fierceish. And really, I am told he was the admiration and the envy of all the Likes (boys) of the district, and quite won the hearts of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Moran had become a man, and was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Moran was no longer a boy, he was an Ekoma—a warrior. His father, who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a neighbouring settlement of Andorobbo—a clan who are despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic Maori, on account of their ignoble mode of gaining a livelihood by the chase. After making the Andorobbo grades in their

6:Thomson G-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide, beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the Masai never trade shields or spears, though there is nothing in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-konono. This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war, and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors. They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a language of their own. In response to the call a miserable, half-starved object appeared with a selection of most murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination Mowa selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

These important acquisitions made, our hero now proceeded to dress himself up as became his new character. He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a small ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus stood forth the complete military master, ready for love or war.

And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accordingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young, unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[text continues on p. 250]

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

714
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411
531

MASAI WEAPONS AND ORNAMENTS.

1. Shield. 2. Arm Ornament of Ivory. 3, 4. Spears of Northern Masai Clans. 5. Spear of Southern Masai. 6. Rhinoceros Sword. 7. Skin Shield. 8. Club. Skull Ornament. 9. Ankle-rattle (Sandal Spear). 10. Ostrich Feather War Head-dress. 11. Ivory Head-dress. 12. Ear Ornament. 13. Head Necklet. 14. Club.

[p.249]

6: Thomson K-3. (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

726 ever, a party had been sent to the chief Lybon of the Masai —Mbaratian—to seek advice as to the time of their start, and to procure medicines to make them successful. On their return the party mustered, and set off. It was a remarkable sight to behold these blooded young cut-throats on the march, and it is almost an impossibility to convey any clear picture of their appearance in words. The Frontispiece illustration, however, will help to some extent.

794 Let us pause and in imagination watch some enthusiastic
726 young dilis buckling on the armour of her knight. First there is tied round his neck, whence it falls in flowing lengths, the *sikhevi*,—a piece of cotton, six feet long, two feet broad, with a longitudinal stripe of coloured cloth sewed down the middle of it. Over his shoulders is placed
[237] a huge cape of kite's feathers—a regular heap of them. The kid-skin garment which hangs at his shoulder is now folded up, and tied tightly round his waist like a belt, so as
[302] to leave his arms free. His hair is tied into two pigtails, one before and one behind. On his head is placed a remarkable object formed of ostrich feathers stuck in a band of leather, the whole forming an elliptically-shaped head-gear. This is placed diagonally in a line beginning under the lower lip and running in front of the ear to the crown. His legs are ornamented with flowing hair of the colobus, resembling wings. His bodily adornment is finished off by the customary plastering of oil. His sisal or sword is now attached—it does not hang—to his right side; and through the belt is pushed the skull-smasher or knobkerry, which may be thrown at an approaching enemy, or may give the coup de grâce to a disabled one. His huge shield in his left hand and his great spear in his right complete his extraordinary equipment. For the rest you must imagine an Apollo-like brow and the face of a fiend, and you have before you the beau-ideal of a Masai warrior. He takes enormous pride in his weapons, and would part with everything he has rather than his spear. He glories in his scars, as the true laurel and decorative marks of one who delights in battle.

726 With astonishing hardihood, Morua and his comrades,
[691] thus terribly armed, shaped their course towards Kwakibland; for, strangely enough, they have found that they can lift the cattle with greater impunity there than anywhere else—in spite of the Kwakibi guns and a large population. The reason is the complete absence of anything like patriotism or public spirit among the coast people. Their argument

is called an *el amal*. The boys may carry knives for defense but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *el amal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg as an alms food from the elder of their opposite's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' opposites and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *engilepis*; for this the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-belts. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wood, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their opposites and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *el-piron*, also a meat circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—symbolically as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the opposership of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their opposite as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

541 herds. They are followed by the morans and the women who cut bush to mark where the elder has walked. When the circle is demarcated, they set to work to build a thick thorn fence to enclose the village. By the time the work is finished, it is evening. A special piece of olive wood is brought in readiness. The log used in a moran ceremony is described as being four to five feet long, and of the thickness of a man's thigh. It had been part of the trunk of a tree, not a branch. A tree leaning in the direction of the rising sun had to be found. When it was cut, it had not to be allowed to fall to the ground.

In the evening before the cattle return, the olive log is brought and one end is placed in the fire. The wood is ——— and as the log burns away it is pushed further into the fire. The mothers of the morans each come with four small pieces of olive wood to light at the fire; this they take to their temporary hut made of hide to start their fires. No other source of fire may be used. Great care must be taken that the log is burnt completely. A close guard is kept over it to prevent the cattle from disturbing it and to prevent evil-wishers from taking away the log to make black magic. The morans guard the log through the night and the morning.

In the morning all the morans come and form a circle round the fire; they bring their spears, and wear lion-mane and head-dress. Four elders of known good character, with wives and children, then walk round the morans; two walk one way, two the other. One of each pair has a gourd of milk, the other a gourd of honey wine. As they walk they fill their mouths with milk or honey wine and blow it on to the sitting morans.

541 Each girl has a slipper of green grass which when removed is
534 held in the left hand, the gourd in the right. As the liquid is sprayed,
184 so is the green grass waved toward the morans. As they walk the elders call down the blessing of the Supreme Power.

Engai!

Kutomomiyoma. Kejuru.
Kutukuta! Engai.
Kutua ii kulubung o l'ang Ai. Ilai.
Mutegemeh ashe ii kulubi.
Kutuki ii ainonjeh, aye
Ale ii kejuk l'enolopi! Enapa.

Kiyoo Lemoiu, Engaik o Mbaiyoo enjuna
Mutegelu tuloo ii Engaay
Kutua ai Diunyo Pilosi
Kutua Kumaniki
Kutoong on aye ii o ainji.

9.Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kisumu

On left —

LAIBON MBEITA (25)

Below—

WARRIOR IN FULL CEREMONIAL DRESS wearing lion-killer's headdress with ostrich-plumes as spear as sign of peace.

[illegible p. 10]

Sotonito. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skin attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *ilkuriton* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the encampments or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *osinyolio*, which are danced by the novices alone.

The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior.

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organize the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the encampments of the warrior groups (see below).

Part III.—Warriorhood.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *ipuriaon*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those novices who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ear-piercing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *junjuinoibor* and *monianjolonga*.

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *junjuinoibor* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *junjuinoibor* and a *monianjolonga*, must move out together, leaving the next *junjuinoibor* or senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *monianjolonga*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *junjuinoibor*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the Il-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputei at Ngong (now living among the Lotodo), the Elarusha, Il-Arkipiak, Il-Wuasin-Kishu and Sambur also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were:* (1) to mention war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical force for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 36). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

When the warriors of a unit wanted to raid, they approached their *el-aigwenak*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*el-oreng*) was intended. The *il-aigwenak* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in song after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-piak* and hunted an ewe to prepare them for the raid; parade were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective. Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the manyata, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-aa-rok-kiag* and *il-aa-do-engi*, "the black ox" and "the red ones," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *el-enamejo*, carried out locally by one unit, were not reported to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elementeita, where two large collections of warriors (to put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputei, the other of the Il-Arkipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, cheered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Armed with sword, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, glistening spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which running embers

* Cambridge, pp. 63–65.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the
699 native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each division (Il-Purko, Il-Dumat, etc.), to replace the original council of the *el-oshe*. These Councils were composed of *il-aiguenak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 46 headmen, some of them *il-aiguenak*. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (*oiyiok chiaki*) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first regarded as the head of the Kisonko; but since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

Sources: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1907; Merker, 1910; Wichmann, 1910; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Huxley, 1935.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Camps

Housing

342 The Masai hut, *enk-aji*, pl. *enk-aiish*, is a low structure with a flat or fattish
341 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather holes are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tiamus have thatched roofs of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *el-gutiot* is used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

• 719 Warriors wear a small cape, or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their kettle-dress consists of a headdress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of colobus' feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the long
[306] ever-chang called *e-rung*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *en-dovo* is worn by warriors on certain occasions. Bells are worn when going on a raid after electing an *el-moroni* (*el-oibonot*). When Uasin
391 Gishu, where they go on a raid after finding a cow to conquer or die. Elders wear
[556] skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys
301 wear a sheepskin.
291 Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt. They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and
301 lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled iron wire, *e-ureshe*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Dorobi men), and some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and teeth ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, of which other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of others), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and a wrist-thong, separate the Masai and Njemps culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "elkhorn-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged-end spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that often between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the left. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsigis, Kisya, Kuny and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-thong; the Kikuyu have imitated them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; wood-ing to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 203 is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Beliefs and Customs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky) by to sweeten worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (and also of the Ude); but the slightest belief that the soul of a believer or rich man lives (on a water (spoken some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs clearer investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is also to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Waiteiony, the fellow who died c. 1900; from Thomson heard the Il-Arkipeti prayer to *Enk-ai* and Waiteiony, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Waiteiony's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Waiteiony. The "minor deity called Notorbuk," which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Notorobuck, "the medicine between God and men," But the Masai word naiterobigi means no more than "that which keeps the earth," and that would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apie*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

/11 cows/

553 lacking such, some older man of her lineage or tribe, given it to him. The festival that is celebrated in this connection is very similar to the one described above at the first name-giving, but considerably more sumptuous. It is never lacking, whenever the other one is often omitted.

He receives his next name on a warlike, after his return from a campaign in which he has killed or seriously wounded one or more enemies. /He/ is fully battle array, but without weapons, the warriors assemble toward evening in their lodge; they meet together, with a large number of young girls standing around, while those of them who are to receive the warrior baptism perform war dances with astonishing endurance, spear and shield in hand. After the new names have been agreed upon and have been called out to the men concerned, they are celebrated in improvised race. The names refer to earlier circum, military events, or even customs that the men honored today were on the last campaign. This festivity is repeated on each of the next two or five days in a neighboring lodge, to which the men newly named wander with a number of their comrades and a crowd of young girls. Thus the new names quickly become generally known and familiar.

551 Names that the mother or father give to their small son, besides the ones previously mentioned, are the following: Kaiga = the long one who can reach up high: Lawaiga, from ~~to stretch~~ = a tall slim: Wanaga, after the like-named deer: Wakka, after a former chief of this name: Sanatika, after the cloud of dust that the cattle stir up while being driven, may the son acquire as many cattle that their cloud of dust is very great: Ci Wigmoka = pass, the copper coin commonly used in San Ildefonso and worth two pfennigs. For a time it was

[601] very popular among the Ukwut so to announce and was worn on a small chain or on wire in the upper rim of the ear: Lahaiah = thick lip. Names that boys received as principal names in the age of two or five are: Lawawai = the clever one: Kahaga = the big = the fat one: Hawaakai = the poor-with drinker: Kaiga = Wanaga = darling: Ngaiga = given by God: Haiawai, after a tree called ~~elmo~~, whose

Ik Isiokuo--UE G-6 (1885-ca.1908) 1910 PL12 Ideal PL12

/??? name/
of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /??/ may choose
a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the
speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest
ol bemen. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beauti-
ful weapons. Each ol bemen has brought along a fine herd of
cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the dele-
gates as a gift for the ol ebiet. When they have then presented
their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next
day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the
name ol gbelem. The ones circumcised during the period from 1898
to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean the generation
after them reclaimed and impoverished by the cinderpest. After the

Ill. 111. Shield ornamentation of the Ideal.

delegation has been dismissed by the ol ebiet, they return to their
native branch. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new
name and then commit about the choice of a shield ornamentation.

1h Becker--199 G-4 (1800-ca.1908) 1910 PL13 Wood PL13

/To cont./

There consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian red, black, and gray (1).

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /To/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

Today considerable confusion in the shield ornaments already prevails. The wars the war expeditions of the Masai became, thanks to European domination, the cause the old formalities of warfare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield ornaments arose through the Lasaxa-Zaraba civil war, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the ornaments is not of itself however to here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary ornaments figure may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield ornaments were made up.

A shield ornament (Plate I) may consist: 1. the red ornament (or main) ornament, 2. the black ornament (or main) ornament (1).

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the connecting band (or angle) or ring), 4. the ornaments of the lineage, 5. the emblems of the nations, and, finally, 6. an emblem

4. [i.e., the shield ornaments--Amaiyet]
5. [See pp. 606-607--Amaiyet]

6

/79 cont./

714 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the ~~ee ewaka i ai bigiloni~~
531 A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually ~~ee ngiko~~ is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the guard battles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Mbmti word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual ones.

714 531 634 1814 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the double wedge (Plate I: Figs. 3, 4, 6, 8, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the ornamental band belongs to Kisalga Province, the segments of circles (Plate I: Figs. 5, 7, 16, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Lolos Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate I: Figs. 11, 15, 16) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol Inggo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ol Inggo and Lolos, the latter /Ol/ in Kisalga. Lolos and Kisalga, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the common line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after heavy-rich war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems (Plate I: Figs. 1, 2, 9, 12, 15, 17, 19). These are commonly found in Kisalga, where they have been customary for so long as the memory of the people extends. They are rare in Lolos /Ol. 19 appears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbweyos. Mbweyos resides in Kisalga, and his bodyguard consisted of Kisalga warriors. After his death Zandos put together a guard made up of Lolos warriors and also stayed largely in Lolos in order to avoid the

/35 cont./

51. 50. Shield on eclipse of the moon.

influence of the Hawiki military series heros. The extent to the question concerning the meaning of the Nimi's bows are almost always merely that they potently served as ornamentation, since, with the exception of the warrior soldiers on the one side, the other half of the shield would look asymmetrically empty, and only a few old men opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the Ik grad. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /35/ has been commonly used in Kisengo from time immemorial and then she came to later after Mbanyeo's death.

The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of today; thus I did not come across it until I had been by a number of old men the shield ornaments carried by them in their youth. The illustration of Plate X shows a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 609--Ann.] [ref.]

/90 cont./

black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear in the environmental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem. They carry the black emblem and the environmental band until they have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability, to obtain the red emblem by obituary or force. So the warriors, of their own accord, will not let a younger age climb very close territory. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they complete their shield warriorhood in the aforesaid way and then carry it /90/ ceremoniously to them. The warriors see it, become angry, and avoid. The el lacuna, to whom the warriors have until then been persons of respect, answer haughtily and impudently and scoff that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need nor deserve the red emblems any longer. No one likes to be reminded of his shortcomings, and a blood hate of all valorous the opponent -- for that is what it is for the one will in the warrior association -- of incompetence is war, especially if it is incited on him in warrior fashion out of the resenting mouth of a younger person. At the same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and earth, possibly even before it is filled with hate -- a further provocation of the warriors, for with that the el lacuna declare that they too now have a right to their own warrior level and are no longer to be regarded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the growing level in order to evoke the point close to the el lacuna with force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by avoiding feud by one or two small raids against huge tribes. Sometimes the warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have brought rich spoils, but often too they meet here their recognition as before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the level that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long; rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and envy. It is therefore no exception if there are two warrior levels in one region at the same time.

[Warrior Ernal]

/No name./

Every warrior has his favorite girl (or wife) (1).

1. /This sentence has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with him one night, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the season and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime persons do not have intercourse for one or two months. Exposing the tyrsus in action a public custom or a solemn rite.

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover *ne nanila* and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warrior squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

Ill. 51. Warrior in ceremonies.

[illegible]

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging, neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The scene is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become alone by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech undisturbed to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Iliupers, where another supported some remark or spoke against the speaker and at every punctuation point, at every comma of the speech gives [illegible] in choppy sentences, varies hence by an unbelievably expressive, more or less growing K. [illegible], or has then to her statement the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of convincing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of [illegible]-rich peoples, in the terms a kind confidence in the town, /[illegible]/ which will facilitate for the terms a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover, he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether to perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily rule him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture, where they may be right, where the bravest warriors live, etc. The speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; valiant, cunning, deceptive, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

Another task is the administration of justice by-elders upon them; he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the overseer of his tribe.

A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by the [illegible] (1)

1. Sing. [illegible]

(a the bulk), of whom there are five or six in every band and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a sign of their rank they wear, in drawing out in band-to-hand

[Warrior Brawl]

fight, large log bells (at duelling sites), the ringing of which to the latter instance serves to prevent a going away by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the *[illegible]* a benefactor. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive cows for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

Accordingly, relentlessness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is counted badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to his helpless.

Cowards and leaders live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonies. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly setting an arrow to a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to duelling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometimes, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine consisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel *[illegible]* ceremonies only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of model things and ceremonies like the exchange of the skin rope (a weapon). The latter becomes more serious if one is killed in a duel. Then the father of the victor is then condemned to pay a large number of cattle. If he breaks them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one killed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

[Warrior Kraal]

/Ilcumi/ A few intrepid warriors also leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol oiguenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /ol/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones ol kenono, fist in, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorobi, a sort of Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en dorge. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
• 714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the oi araschi and en siaki trees), while the leaders wear as en dorge the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the expedition. 708 Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock! Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the oi oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The oi oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kabe area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

[264]

721
724
727
[824]

/721 cont./
forest meat (3).

1. ol loi os, if an os dorosi has taken place, ol loi os dorosi, or, in short for that, os dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meat prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. They you will set out for war on the day ol gadat. On the following day, ol endjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kalo boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol ankaji day you will
728 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
• 734 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
741 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol olkonji given them a few
789 amulets (a manyatta of olkonji), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is white ogre (manyat of ewuaa). A large leg-bone (of Ewaita Black, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal: weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the os sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for the os dorosi in particular all the many vegetable spices that the

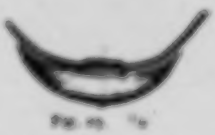

Fig. 19 1/4

726

[263]
[276]

[illegible]

Ill. 17. Warrior camp on the war march.

the time for the attack. /16/ The leader of the warriors is one of the above-mentioned headdresses, recognizable by an ornament called ei dongdo or ei gimdo, which consists of strings of iron or glass beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

Accompanying the warriors are one or more surgeons (ei sidai, ei sidai). whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

Toward midnight the spies (ei sigedaiei, ei sigedaiei) set out to go to Kabe. On the way they adapt their externals in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wakabe and hide /Ill. 18 appear here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable inoffensiveness they move about among the foreign populace, trusting in their senses. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few tail hairs plucked from the Kabe cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Ill. 10. Last concession of the warriors before the battle.

The warriors have broken camp about four or five o'clock in the morning and after seven reached dense bush one to two hours away from Kaba, where they now camp. They are highly elated about the information from the spies, rich booty and women awaited. Soon after midnight the battle march is began. The warriors split up into five different troops. The ei ekaka (sing. ei ekaki) hurry ahead as scouts and, having come close to the goal, hidden in the foliage of tall trees, take /27/ a look around; following them at a distance of a few thousand meters, each led by an ei ekaki, are the three or four divisions of the ei ôna (sing. ei ôna) = battle, each of which goes in another direction toward the battle area. They consist of the most fighting men, and the success of the attack depends primarily upon them. Behind the ei ôna, swarming out at some distance, follow the largest divisions, the ei dimita (sing. ei dimi) or horde, the flanks of which are made up of picked men, the ei

were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Pl. 54). The present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buffalo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the centre is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 metres long and half as wide. The decoration is painted on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often -- but always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps the shield grip so that the median diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

The club (si ghoda, si ghod [Fig. 55]) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the tree si ciche and si sihathawak (Gr

1. Diospyros ebenaster R. Grb.

only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating, are made out of ebony wood or dimorowa horn. The old clubs /151/ consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the sicikiha handle was stuck through a central head-hole. The club does not actually serve as a weapon of war; except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break narrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimetres long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimetres. A clublike scalpel (se sihe), especially out of the wood of si galeska (1).

1. Celtis Wrightii Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword belt; a sicle is it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 35. (1/10).

Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors. Old people never carry the shield, merely a small, to some extent cane-like spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They used bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The latest impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the others and erroneously call themselves ei damba, also bear guns with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-stranded, simply curved.

302 [illegible]
Axillary hair /[illegible]/ and eyebrows are shaved. Women also shave the pubic hair, whereas men pluck it out with the fingers or tweezers. Young women let the hair grow out, when it has the necessary length, twist it between two fingers, through which apparently some little hairs, which, on closer inspection, prove to be spirals intertwined and rolled together. Somewhat later it is twisted together into strands (ci hatan, ci hatan) with red paint, a mixture of animal fat and red earth, which long entangled around the hand. Furthermore they are lengthened by twisting in fibres of the bark of the hachati (ci sakaki) and of another tree called ci [illegible], in order to form out of that the braid-coiffure peculiar to the Ideal women, but adopted by many neighboring tribes (Fig. 94, 95, 96 [ci daiga-ci daiga]). For this the hair is parted crosswise over the head from ear to ear, and then that of the front half of the head is divided into three parts, one over the forehead, the other two at the

Fig. 94 Fig. 95 Fig. 96

/[illegible]/

[illegible] complex, whereupon the tips of the strands are wrapped with hair to the length of an inch. The back hair, lengthened up to 50 centimeters, is placed around a foot-long stick and on this wrapped tightly with hair or goat leather wrapped thin, so that it forms a stiff braid (el dalgan) reaching to the waist. Over this braid one can frequently find one to three smaller ones. Often the tips of the little complex braids (sing. el kabadan el kabad | el gambir) are joined with that of the long functional braid (el kabadan | el gamsun) and the former tied together under the chin after a string (sadik el libon) (5).

[illegible] 1. This hair style has the purpose of preventing the head from the beautiful influences of the sun's rays. For men, one like on the back grow long and, since the long strands fall annoyingly into the face at every movement, put it together into the braids. The Tonga helped themselves more simply, in that they shaved the front part of the head and left the protection of the thick padding of hair on the back part of the head.

[illegible] The hair is often perfumed with the root powder of el ilo kabadan (Curcuma spec.). /[illegible] /Fig. 40 and 50 appear here./

[illegible] /[illegible]/ The white facial painting of the newly circumcised has already been mentioned. Younger people, especially women and young girls, on all festive occasions, smear the entire body (earlier as it is not clothed), with red paint, which they like to perfume with the pulverized leaves of el magtigbihi (Litsea cassettia Blch.), which smell like vanilla. With one finger the women then often strip it off the skin hence in serpentine lines (el bigwalo, el bigwak), so that a kind of drawing is produced. One who has killed an enemy in war paints his body at the following dance festivals with white and red earth in stripes (Fig. 47). This painting is called ag /Figs. 47-49 appear here/ ginulgan. At festivals one also often sees on the face of the warriors a red triangle, its apex starting at the alae and widening out up to the middle of the cheeks (Fig. 48). When boys

[illegible] CONTINUED ON PAGE [illegible]]

[Illustration from p. 149 of the original source.]

Ill. 61. Hair style of young warriors.

Ill. 61. Hair style of the warriors.

[illegible]

[illegible]

There is no special punishment for conviction of war. The warrior, however, must be covered in fear of the gods and make him colorless in dark eyes. One who makes anyone ill through sorcery pays a head of cattle to the one bewitched. If the latter dies, the sorcerer must pay the fine levied for murder and is himself driven away.

The death penalty is carried out in that a band of armed men attack the delinquent clever and kill him with spears. For a war [illegible] carried the execution is carried out by warriors, for an enemy, by those injured by him. Fines are usually paid in cattle/cows. In general their amount is set fixed for the individual offenses. In the one case this is the other that is regarded as the norm. Diminished ability to pay because of previous livestock sickness or catastrophe was certainly known the fine. Moreover, if in the district the fellow members of the lineage or wife of the perpetrator have a preponderance in numbers or power over those of the injured one, the fines are considerably smaller than in the opposite case; then murder is often punished as negligent homicide, or many a time even left entirely unpunished, just like other crimes or misdemeanors. Irresponsibility is regarded as mitigating in some districts, in others not. An attempt is not punished. Self-defense is not mitigating. A degrading punishment exists only for the warriors and consists of cutting off the guilty man's braid-ruffles, as is well known, one of the insignia of his standing. This punishment is said to be inflicted most frequently for rape committed on a married woman, less often also as additional punishment for theft. Innocent accused persons are reconciled with a goat or a sheep. The mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in the legal world only insofar as they are unable to pay fines. In most cases their people are then liable. The latter therefore keep in bonds the sick person who is inclined toward misdemeanors or crimes. Frequently, too, if an [illegible] does not succeed in curing him through magic remedies, he is tied to a tree at some distance from the kraal, to be devoured by predatory animals.

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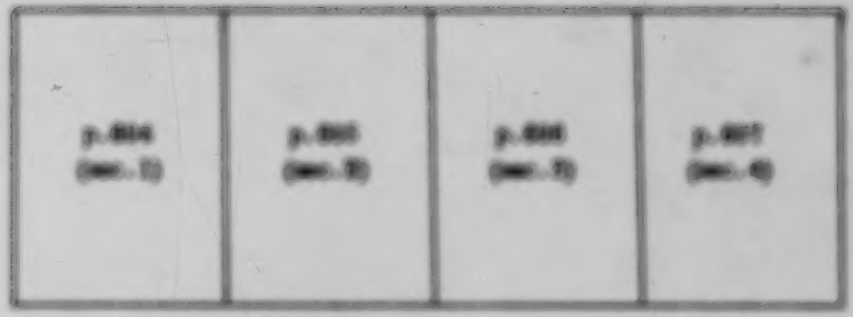


Chart of Partitions of Bad Plane 1
[facing p. 654]

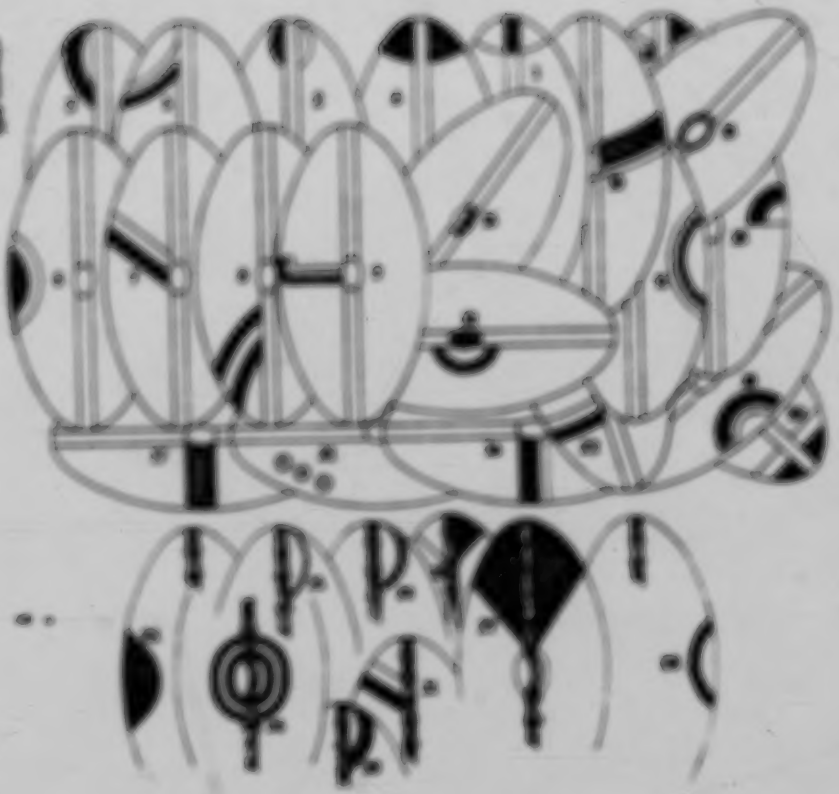
Plate 1 (left section) of two sections of Plate IV

[illegible]

[illegible] 1 (third member from the left) of Plate V

19 is a necessity -- and of 1910 -- formed earrotbeen, which was adapted by Zandee's followers after the -- presumably temporary -- move to Oil briggs, which took place in the middle of '19.

Plate 9



Lineage Emblems on Shields.

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible]
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible]
13. [illegible]
14. [illegible]
15. [illegible]
16. [illegible]
17. [illegible]
18. [illegible]
19. [illegible]
20. [illegible]
21. [illegible]
22. [illegible]
23. [illegible]
24. [illegible]
25. [illegible]
26. [illegible]
27. [illegible]
28. [illegible]
29. [illegible]
30. [illegible]

561 class name, and is allied with the next (or previous)
701
[881] group, the first being the right hand grade and the other
[884] being the left hand grade. After several years the junior warriors go through another ceremony and become full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may
714 be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by their hair style and spear.

714 The hair style involves a complicated
302 plating of the hair with some combination of cords, pieces of hide or gut, bark, or stick; all liberally plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott (1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and variations in style between areas.

714 The warriors' spear is often over five feet
411 long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an equally long but round and pointed tail, and between them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft. Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are
177 carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally
411 the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes.
326 They now come from England and the first thing a moran does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the
411 brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

301 Women and occasionally men wear necklaces of beads. Women have ornate jewelry consisting of rings, beads, beaded bracelets, and wire loops around their [304] neck, wrists and ankles. Both men and women pierce and stretch their ear lobes; the women wear large ear bangles through them and the men use them to carry snuff containers or other articles about the size of a 35 mm film casette.

411 Spears, simis, and knobkerries and shields may [714] [561] be carried by the men. Elders often carry a long staff instead of a spear. Cooking utensils are simple, some- 415 [513] times consisting of a few pots and pans. Bedding consists of hides, with sometimes a blanket. The gourds mentioned 492 above are always present. When moving from one place to another a pack saddle is used which consists of two large (two by three feet) flat rounded plates made of sticks bound and laced by leather thongs. These are tied above and on either side of the donkeys' backs, giving the appearance of semi-folded wings. Hides, lodgepoles, cooking utensils, and other kit are placed on 443 the donkey's back between these. Trade goods are purchased or traded from small dukas around the edge of the area or more recently from itinerate traders who visit the larger and more accessable bomas in trucks.

*233
182 every opportunity. There the purpose is primarily to
232 clear new grazing land. During the 30 months of our
824 major study period, we were in sight of the Mau forest (at the foot of the Mau Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rains, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or brush.

*13 Relations with Wildlife
648

The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through
[171] excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Wanderobo are an exception, but there are relatively so few Wanderobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

224 The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include
[237] buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and
• [714] , giraffe for hides
the hides/and tail hairs (to ornament gourds and dresses,
[531] according to Millais, 1920), lions and sometimes leopard
[825] for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly
*[233] in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12
Nika FL14

C
291
301
531
281

CLOAK. Made of cony skins *(Dendrohyrax validus)*; square; tied around the neck. Worn by males only.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151586

CLOAK OR CAPE. Made of cony skins, squared and sewed together. Worn over the shoulders.

Size 4 by 2 feet.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151587

CLOAK. Made of cony skins sewed together and simply worn over the shoulders as a protection in cold weather.

Three feet square.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151588

CAPE. Made of three goatskins sewed together.

M
439
714
411

Length, 3 feet 3 inches; width, 21 inches.
Wa Chaga tribe; Machame district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151589

WAR CLOTH (Maibére). For trade with the Masai all cloth must be made up into maibére. The red stripe in this specimen is too narrow and therefore was rejected in trade.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151819
In dress, implements, and in weapons, fashion reigns supreme among these fastidious aborigines. Frequently, an assagai offered in traffic will be rejected with the remark "We have not used that pattern for ten years."

M
281
714
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WAR CAPE (Maliti). Made of the feathers of the vulture and the guinea fowl, fastened to a groundwork of goatskin. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 154767

WAR CAPE (Maliti). Made of the feathers of the vulture and guinea fowl, which are fastened to a groundwork of leather. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151768

BEADWORK. Parallel bands of beading on leather, sewn to the cloth as an ornament; usually on the bottom of the cloak.

Misahi tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151245

N
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ARM-RINGS. Made of the toe nails of the elephant. Mere bands or rings cut out so as to pass over the hand. They are of the same width all around, varying from one-fourth to one-twelfth of an inch in thickness.

Doruma, East Africa. 151232

C
301

ARMLETS. Cut from the butt end of a buffalo horn; resembling the widely-gaping mouth of the skeleton of a fish.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151229

ARMLET. Beaded leather band, with fringe of iron chain. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151225

ARMLET. Beaded leather band. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151226